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AUTHOR Photiadis, John D.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The purposes of this paper are to (1) present a theoretical background on the reasons for the hastened exodus of rural Appalachians and (2) describe occupational patterns of Appalachians and, in particular, West Virginians in Cleveland, Ohio. The data presented were secured in 1967 by a survey of West Virginians living in the so-called Appalachian ghetto and in the suburbs of Cleveland. Among the findings of the study were: among West Virginians in Cleveland, ghetto residents were much younger than suburbanites; probably more than any other variable, technical skills differentiates the four survey groups, and particularly the three groups of migrants; returned migrants have the largest proportion of unskilled workers, ghetto, the largest proportion of semiskilled, and suburbans, the largest proportion of skilled workers; there was a great turnover between the migrants' occupation before migration and his first Cleveland job; as compared to West Virginia, migrants in Cleveland from West Virginia had a lower proportion of unemployed and retired; and, Cleveland migrants, and in particular suburbanites, had considerably higher income than people from the State of West Virginia as a whole. (Author/JM)

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MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIANS IN THE CITY

by John D. Photiadis

in Cooperation With

Leonard Sizer and James Way

CENTER FOR EXTENSION AND CONTINUING EDUCATION

Office of Research and Development

West Virginia University

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MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT OF WEST VIRGINIANS IN THE CITY

When we look at the many Appalachians who migrated to other states' urban areas during the past two or so decades, two questions arise. The first, of course, is what impelled them to pull up their roots and leave set ways behind? But the second question has even more interesting ramifications: Why did those Appalachians stay so long in their hollows, where the earth offered them only subsistence farming? After all, the income differential was there long before the war years, when places like Cleveland offered the enterprising a better life style. So why the delay in taking advantage of it, and why the hastened exodus of the fifties and early sixties?

The purpose of this paper, then, is to first; present a theoretical background on the reasons for the hastened exodus of rural Appalachians and second; describe occupational patterns of Appalachians and, in particular, West Virginians in Cleveland.

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* -- Part of this material has been presented at a Conference on "Appalachians In Urban Areas" held in Columbus, Ohio March 27-29, 1974, and sponsored by the Academy of Contemporary Problems and the Appalachian Committee.

A. Social Processes Before and During the Great Appalachian Migration -- The Link of the Rural Part of the Region and the Larger Society

Due to physical isolation and cultural homogeneity, the rural Appalachian social system of the past survived as a semi-autonomous social system. Thus, although part of the larger society, the sub-system provided for many social and relative economic rewards which, although not sufficient when compared with the outside, were sufficient for within; the latter was an alternative which was the most meaningful because the system was relatively autonomous.[1]

In particular during the forties, isolation of the rural Appalachian social system started decreasing rapidly, while the important processes of interaction and communication with the outside kept increasing in intensity. Those few who had already out-migrated -- especially during and immediately after the war years -- contributed to the intensity of these two processes through visitations and other contacts.[2] Interaction and communication are the two most crucial processes helping the incorporation of one social system into another (the larger society in our case) or the weakening of an old system (the rural community). In other words, a crucial indirect function of the availability of jobs in cities such as Cleveland was the weakening of the boundary maintenance mechanism of the rural social system and, furthermore, the increased use of the outside as reference group. Thus, starting

1. For more information on this process see "Change In Rural Appalachia -- Implications for Action Programs," John Photiadis and Harry Schwartzweller, editors, Chapters 1 and 15, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971.

2. Including relatives visiting them in the city

first with the more educated and the young, rural Appalachians began increasingly comparing themselves in terms of income and level of living -- the themes of the larger American society -- with outsiders and the lower urban middle class in particular. The latter is the group that is projected most often by mass media and the group the few that were then in the city looked up to.

From this point on, both out-migration and socio-psychological linkage kept increasing in intensity, and along with them; the incorporation of the rural into the larger society social system, the use of the latter as a reference group, and the consequential strong feelings of relative deprivation.[1] In addition, because such feelings had become part of the basic motivational orientation of large numbers of individuals, social organization, and norms and social pressures for performance in line with expectations of the larger society, kept increasing rapidly. This led to more out-migration and, in turn, closer incorporation into the larger society, which in turn further increased out-migration.

In other words, job opportunities in the city made this mutual dependence between migration and incorporation into the larger society possible. Thus, regardless of physical, cultural or mental suitability or preparation for city employment, within less than two decades almost all young adult men and women left rural Appalachia.

Because, along with the rest of the rural social system, boundary maintenance mechanisms -- for instance, norms suggesting that you cannot find a true friend in the city, or that the good life is in the hollows --

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1. Deprivation at this point refers to both income and city life.

as time went by started rapidly losing their effectiveness. On the other hand, pressure, from both the outside and within, for economic achievement and, in turn, out-migration kept rapidly increasing to the extent that for many the rural community started becoming a negative reference group, community norms became ineffective, morale low, and in a number of cases, the rural social organization almost collapsed. This stage of transition, which is initiated and usually sustained by the availability of city jobs, often leads to a mass exodus of rural populations. From the point of view of action programs, understanding these processes is important because; first, at a certain point of the transition, out-migration becomes much faster than city employment can absorb; second, it pressures people out of their communities regardless of preparation or fitness for city life, thus creating a number of problems afterwards; and third, this type of exodus is taking place today in a number of countries of intermediate development, including South America, while in other, less developed countries, it will probably take place in the near future.[1]

In practice then, the status of the social system was what kept the rural Appalachian in the hollows long enough for the Eastern Europeans to settle in the areas of Cleveland where a couple of decades later (and when Eastern Europeans were moving out and into higher socio-economic status neighborhoods) rural Appalachians moved in. The hastened move to the city has in part been affected by the low prices of coal, but areas and sometimes

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1. Typical in this case is the large number of unemployed young men wandering about big cities in Asia, Africa and South America and families living in the periphery of such cities living in squaller. When these people are asked whether they like this style of life better than that in their villages, they tend to respond negatively; and when asked why they left, they usually don't have a specific explanation.

and sometimes entire states that are non-coal-producing have also shown relatively similar, although not as intense, transition patterns.

It is obvious, and in particular after the local system lost its autonomy, that the processes we described above were influenced by the factor "income differential" between rural Appalachia and the industrial centers; the greater the difference, the faster the out-migration.[1]

Due to more limited isolation and more economic potential, the incorporation (socio-psychological and otherwise) of the rural into the urban social system was more gradual elsewhere in America, as in the plains of the Midwest.[2] The same is true in other countries when one compares fertile plains with isolated, low-income mountainous areas.

Finally, the above considerations, which we feel constitute an important contribution of research conducted by West Virginia University, should offer, we hope, a better understanding for the empirical data we present below.

B. Occupational Adjustment In Cleveland:

The data presented next were secured in 1967 by a survey of West Virginians living in the so-called Appalachian ghetto and in the suburbs of

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1. The reasons for this relationship are both social and material -- because behavior in line with expectations of the new reference group became more urgent when difference increases -- and because migration in the city implies material comforts that are associated with city living.

2. This is true in areas where agriculture is a more viable option and land can be consolidated into economic units. This is not feasible in the hollows of Appalachia.

Cleveland. These data are compared with similar types of information collected from the State of West Virginia and are supplemented by data from a survey of Southern migrants in Cleveland conducted about the same time by the Bureau of Social Science Research.[1]

(a) Methodology:

The sample of West Virginians in Cleveland includes approximately 170 respondents from the so-called ghetto and 370 from the suburbs. In the ghetto, blocks were selected randomly and every male West Virginian in the block was interviewed. The suburban sample involves a stratified sample of communities in the area west of the so-called Appalachian ghetto. Within these communities, respondents were secured from a list provided by the Extension Service of the State of West Virginia, interviews with church ministers, school principals and employers, and finally, the snowballing technique. The sample from the State of West Virginia is a cluster random sample of approximately 1,300 males (For more detailed information of the two samples see Appendix I.).

Due to space limitation, description of variables and more extensive description of the sample are not presented here but can be found in an earlier publication, from which part of these data have been taken.[2] The

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1. The Bureau of Social Science Research survey deals with occupational and social adjustment of Southern migrants to Cleveland conducted among residents of low-income neighborhoods in Cleveland between May 1967 and March 1968.

2. John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," Appalachian Center, West Virginia University, 1970, p. 240.

sample of the Bureau of Social Science Research includes 1,300 black and white Southern migrants.[1]

The data from the West Virginia study are analyzed in terms of four groups; West Virginians in the suburbs, those in the ghetto of Cleveland, returned migrants in West Virginia, and people who never migrated. Throughout the analysis, the four groups are also presented matched in terms of age and education.

(b) Population Data:

TABLE 1

The Lifetime Migration

To and From West Virginia, 1970

Coming From Or Moving To	Born Outside But Residence In W. Va., 1970	Born In W. Va. But Residence Elsewhere In 1970
NORTHEAST	57,559	134,449
New England	3,278	14,759
Middle Atlantic	54,381	119,690
NORTHCENTRAL	75,977	473,867
East North Central	63,681	456,736
Ohio	54,294	345,707
West North Central	12,296	17,131
SOUTH (less W. Va.)	205,535	420,221
South Atlantic	159,486	387,070
East South Central	39,274	42,271
West South Central	6,775	33,151
WEST	7,018	101,836
Mountain	2,405	26,552
Pacific	4,613	75,284
TOTALS	346,089	1,130,373

1. Nearly 1,300 relatively recent Southern in-migrants and over 400 long-term residents of the same neighborhoods were interviewed during the survey, which is Phase I of a three-part study sponsored by the Manpower Administration of the United States Dept. of Labor through its Office of Manpower Research and Office of Special Manpower Programs. For more information, see Gene Paterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1969.

Table I shows that West Virginia's total life time migration to Ohio, as of 1970, was 345,707. This is 38% of the total life time contribution of West Virginia to all states in the nation. No other state has approached this number. The next leading contender has been Maryland which received 89,279 from West Virginia, which represents slightly over one-fourth that received from Ohio, and only 8.5% of the 1,130,372 total life time migration from West Virginia to all states.

During the fifties, there was a net out-migration of 447,000 from the State of West Virginia. This was followed by a net out-migration of 265,000 during the 1960s. As of the 1960 Census, 67,704 of the residents of Ohio were reported to have lived in West Virginia in 1955.[1]

TABLE 2

Change of Residence To and From
West Virginia In 1965 and 1970

Coming From Or Moving To	Lived in West Virginia in 1970 But Lived Elsewhere in 1965	Lived in West Virginia in 1965 But Lived Elsewhere in 1970
NORTHEAST	21,732	22,631
New England	2,213	3,555
Middle Atlantic	19,519	19,076
NORTHCENTRAL	36,213	71,977
East North Central	33,705	68,469
Ohio	23,123	50,502
West North Central	2,508	3,508
SOUTH	43,488	81,574
South Atlantic	34,660	63,407
East South Central	5,806	9,957
West South Central	3,022	8,210
WEST	6,967	10,943
Mountain	2,490	3,329
Pacific	4,477	7,614

1. Leonard M. Sizer, Population Change In West Virginia With Emphasis 1940-1960. West Virginia University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 563, May, 1960, p. 22.

Table 2 shows that the 50,507 out-migrants to Ohio, during the period 1965-70, represent 14.7% of the total life time migration from West Virginia of 345,707. Secondly, this represents but 27% of the total 1965-70 migration of 187,125, which suggests that a smaller percentage of West Virginia out-migrants went to Ohio between 1965-70 than tended to go there in previous years.

Table 3 (and Figure 1) shows West Virginia's contribution to the Cleveland Metropolitan Area, by economic region, between the years 1965-70. The largest number of out-migrants, 2,624 or 33% of the total, came from the Southern coal counties of West Virginia. The Charleston Metropolitan Area contributed 1,603, while the Upper Monongahela Valley of North Central West Virginia contributed 1,089. A somewhat similar pattern prevailed for the Lorain Metropolitan Area; but a predominant number of migrants to the Elyria Metropolitan Area came from the Huntington Metropolitan Area. This rather singular trek should prove to be an interesting phenomenon about which to have additional details.

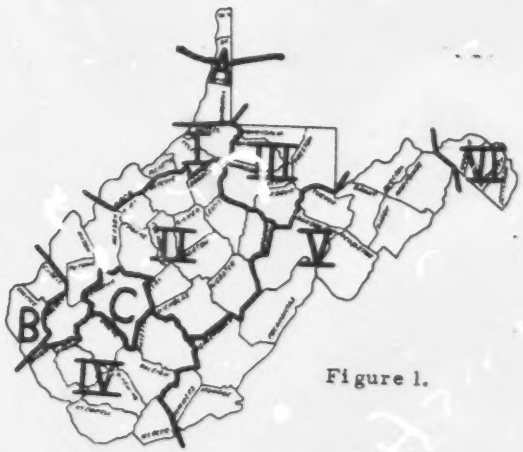

Figure 1.

State Economic Areas of West Virginia

TABLE 3

Residence in Economic Areas of Ohio in 1970
by Residence in Economic Areas of West Virginia in 1965

West Virginia	Area B Cleveland SMSA	Area L Elyria SMSA	Area M Lorain SMSA
Total	7,935	2,374	2,419
Area 1 Ohio Valley	376	19	162
Area 2 Central West Virginia	877	132	522
Area 3 Upper Monongahela Valley	1,089		321
Area 4 Southern Coal Counties	2,624	199	694
Area 5 Mountain Counties	406	6	209
Area 6 Eastern Panhandle	33		
Area A Wheeling SMSA	407		44
Area B Huntington SMSA	520	1,921	134
Area C Charleston SMSA	1,603	97	333

(c) Findings:

Probably excluding white collar and the few professionals, the bulk of West Virginians came from rural areas, and at least the first years of the "Great Migration," these people went first to the so-called Appalachian ghetto of Cleveland. As they secured new skills, both in terms of occupations and understanding of the urban culture, more and more moved to the suburbs and the so-called interstitial area between the ghetto and the suburbs of the West Side of Cleveland. But as the years went by, more and more people moved directly to where their relatives were, which included places other than the the ghetto area. At the same time, more and more Puerto Ricans, who first

appeared about eight to ten years ago, are moving into this area.

Health, Age and Education: At least during the year the survey was conducted, among West Virginians in Cleveland, ghetto residents were much younger than suburbanites; for instance, about 51 per cent of the ghetto residents and only about 21 per cent of the suburbanites were under thirty years of age.[1] But even suburbanites were younger than returned migrants or people who never migrated. Thirteen per cent of returned migrants were less than thirty years of age.[2]

Table 4 shows that of the 149,712 migrants to the Cleveland Metropolitan Area, 39% or 53,198 were from the 20-29 age group. There were 265,458 people in their twenties in Cleveland, so the 53,198 in-migrants represent 20% of this total age group.

TABLE 4

Age and Sex of the Population 5 Years of Age and Older and Migration Between 1965 and 1970

Total:

Cleveland	5 Years and Older	20-24 Years	25-29 Years
Male	837,121	61,989	60,065
Immigrants to area	73,567	11,446	14,141
Out-migrants from area	106,398	19,278	10,899
Female	921,722	78,316	65,088
Immigrants to area	76,145	15,534	12,077
Out-migrants from area	102,273	17,331	12,657

Interestingly enough, within the 20-24 age group, 26,980 were in-migrants to Cleveland while 36,609 were out-migrants. Overall, there were 208,181 out-

1. For more information see John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. p. 240.

2. Some of these people had left West Virginia again.

migrants to 149,712 in-migrants. Since the Cleveland Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area's population grew from 1,909,483 to 2,064,194 between 1960 and 1970, there seems to be evidence from the 1965-70 migrant data that the natural increase was necessary to make up the deficit during this five-year period.

Cleveland migrants are not only younger, but perceive themselves as considerably healthier physically than respondents from the two West Virginia samples. The differences remain when the four groups used in the analysis are controlled in terms of age and education.[1]

Migrants in Cleveland also differ in terms of education, with more people in the middle, 7 to 12 years, categories. But again, suburbanites had a higher proportion, 47 per cent, than ghetto residents, 30 per cent, of respondents who either finished high school or were close to it.[2]

In general, three years of difference in education was associated with a whole array of economic, social and socio-psychological factors. This, of course, does not necessarily suggest that the three extra years of education were the causes of better adjustment. These findings do not seem to agree with the report of the Survey of Southern Migrants, where it is stated that ... "As far as the relative skill level of entry jobs in Cleveland is concerned, previous investment in education appears to make little difference."[3]

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1. For more information see John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. p. 230.

2. Ibid. pp. 52-54.

3. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland", op. cit. p. 110.

West Virginian suburbanites in Cleveland also had more technical training than ghetto residents, but less than the returned migrants. The latter indicates that some West Virginia migrants acquire skills in the city and then return home. Close to five per cent of the suburbanites and six per cent of the ghetto residents had at least one year of technical training, (Appendix Table 1).

Occupational Patterns: Probably more than any other variable, technical skill differentiates our four groups, and particularly the three groups of migrants. Returned migrants have the largest proportion of unskilled workers; ghetto, the largest proportion of semi-skilled, two to three times as many as

TABLE 1

Occupational Distributions for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Type of Occupation	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Unskilled	47.5	44.6	20.4	24.8	51.3	52.9	20.3	20.2
Semi-skilled	32.5	36.6	67.6	36.6	33.1	37.2	65.6	39.5
Skilled	20.0	18.8	12.0	38.6	15.6	9.9	14.1	40.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(360)	(112)	(142)	(314)	(109)	(51)	(64)	(139)

* -- Differences significant at the 1% level.

the other three groups; and suburbs, the largest proportion of skilled workers, about three times as many as the other three groups, (Table 1). Returned migrants, compared to the other two migrant groups have, by far, the largest proportion, 11 per cent, of professionals, (Appendix Table 2). The corresponding proportions for ghetto and suburbs are about one per cent and four per cent respectively. In other words, professionals tend either to return to West Virginia or reside in areas other than those of high concentration of West Virginians included in our population universe.

The predominant occupation before coming to Cleveland was coal mining; thus about 32 per cent of the suburbanites, and about 25 per cent of the ghetto residents were so employed before coming to Cleveland, (Table 2). On the

TABLE 2

Kind of Occupation Respondents Had When In W. Va. for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Type of Job	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
Coal Miner	24.6	32.4	20.3	24.1
Unskilled	21.6	21.6	22.6	24.7
Semi-skilled	15.0	17.6	7.2	6.6
Skilled	4.2	5.4	9.0	7.8
White Collar	0.6	0.0	2.6	3.0
Managerial	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.0
Businessman	0.6	0.0	1.0	1.2
Farmer	0.0	0.0	4.6	5.4
Professional	0.6	0.0	0.8	0.0
Other	31.6	23.0	30.9	27.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(390)	(74)	(166)

other hand, only about 5 per cent of the suburbanites, and 4 per cent of the ghetto residents had a skill before they left West Virginia; the present proportions of skilled workers are about 39 per cent for suburbanites and about 12 per cent for ghetto residents. In other words, a large proportion of skills which suburbanites now possess has been acquired in the city.

In the case of returned migrants, less than a third of them have held their first job less than six months, another third, seven months to three years, and the last third, more than three years. In general, about one-third of the returned migrants had, during the time of the survey, spent only less than a year outside Appalachia, another third, two to four years, and only about 12 per cent had spent more than ten years. In addition, about 62 per cent of the returned migrants have worked outside the State of West Virginia only once.

By comparison, more than half of the suburbanites have the same jobs they had when they first came to Cleveland, (Table 3). Matched in terms

TABLE 3

Number of Jobs Held Since First Coming to Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
No. of Jobs	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
One	29.6	52.5	27.1	55.4
Two	26.4	20.5	23.1	16.9
Three or More	44.0	27.0	49.8	27.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(387)	(74)	(166)

$X^2 = 26.17 < .5\%$ $X^2 = 17.18 < .5\%$

of education and age, twice as many suburbanites as ghetto residents have kept the same job since they came to Cleveland; furthermore, close to 38 per cent of the ghetto residents have moved to their present jobs in the last six months, while only a little over 7 per cent of the suburbanites have jobs acquired recently. About 45 per cent of the suburbanites and 8 per cent of the ghetto residents have had their jobs 10 or more years. In other words, suburbanites, either because they have acquired a skill or they possess certain personality attributes, tend to be more job stable.

Suburbanites, in spite of the fact that altogether they had fewer job changes, had been in Cleveland much longer. About 24 per cent of the ghetto migrants and only 2 per cent of the suburbanites had, during the time of the survey, been in Cleveland for less than a year. Still, a little more than half of the ghetto residents had been in Cleveland over six years and about a fourth over 10 years. About 60 per cent of the suburbanites had at the time of the survey been in Cleveland more than 10 years, (Appendix Table 3).

As might be expected, data on Southern migrants in Cleveland show that those who had prearranged jobs found work sooner than those who did not. Those slowest to find work were individuals who had no intention of working when they came to Cleveland. Continuing on this line of job prearrangement, these data show that men who were urged to move by relatives or friends were twice as likely to have prearranged jobs as those who were not.[1] Otherwise, among the aids used in finding a first job, friends and relatives rank first, then going around to prospective employers, then newspaper ads, and then State Employment Service. However, most migrants according to the Survey of

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1. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," op. cit. p. 89.

Southern Migrants believe that going around to the prospective employer is the best method of securing a job.[1]

A certain amount of selective recruitment has also been reported during that survey, but such recruitment does not seem to be based on skill or experience. "For male white migrants, there is a strong urge toward initial employment as operatives (jobs requiring moderate level of skill). One measure of the kind of people that move into the operative occupations is to note that from each category of usual pre-migration occupations, more white men began work in Cleveland as operatives than continued in a line of work akin to their usual occupation." Exceptions to this are craftsmen and foremen, who move into their own occupation at a proportion equal to the proportion moving into the operatives.[2]

Concerning occupational stability, figures on Southern migrants show that, counting only workers with previous experience, two-thirds of the black men, about three-fifths of the white migrants, and just over two-fifths of the Negro women changed occupations sufficiently to be classed in a wholly different occupation category when they began work in Cleveland.[3]

Occupational Mobility: According to data from Southern Migrants To Cleveland, there was a great amount of turnover between the migrants' occupation before migration and his first Cleveland job. Three-fifths of the white migrants had to be classed in a different job category after taking a

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1. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," op. cit., p. 93.

2. Among black males, "three in ten began work in service jobs, about the same number started in Cleveland as operatives, while a fifth found jobs as laborers ... In short, while previous experience was second to the demand for operatives among white males, among the male Negro migrants prior experience was more important." Ibid., p. 101.

3. Ibid., p. 105.

job in Cleveland. However, 27 per cent of the white male migrants were operatives before they came to Cleveland and remained operatives after obtaining jobs in Cleveland.

When grouping the data obtained in terms of functional divisions, Peterson and Sharp found that three-quarters of the white male migrants remained in blue-collar occupations after migration. Also, when grouping the data into three skill levels, Sharp and Peterson found that half of the males remained in occupations with the same skill level as their pre-migration occupations.[1]

The data show, then, that a quarter of the migrant males found jobs with a higher skill level than their pre-migration occupations while a quarter found jobs of a lower skill level. Therefore, there was a "stand-off in net gains or losses in skill."[2]

Those most interested in job training were persons who had worked in the past but were currently out of work. Next in interest were those who had never worked in Cleveland, and following these were persons holding jobs in Cleveland at the time of the survey. "Among job holders, persons whose current or most recent employment was in a skilled occupation were, understandably, less often interested in job training than persons with semi- or unskilled jobs.[3]

Unemployment and Assistance: As compared to West Virginia, migrants in Cleveland from West Virginia have lower proportion of unemployed and retired; the corresponding proportion for returned migrants, non-migrants, ghetto and suburbs were: 27, 25, 9 and 2 per cent respectively, (Appendix

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1. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," op. cit. p. 108.

2. Ibid., p. 110.

3. Ibid., p. 93.

Table 4). About two-thirds of the unemployed in the two West Virginia groups were retired, but there were very few retired people in the ghetto and in the suburbs, (Table 4). Of those who are unemployed and not retired, about three-

TABLE 4

Unemployed and Retired for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total Groups

Not Working	Total Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Unemployed but not retired	34.0	34.9	100.0	75.0
Retired	66.0	65.1	0.0	25.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(226)	(63)	(13)	(8)

fourths in the three migrant groups receive some sort of assistance, but only one in ten is on welfare. We did not find any welfare cases in the suburban sample.

Peterson and Sharp found that migrants were more likely to have lost working time due to "disruptions of the job market system" (difficulty in finding work, plant shutdowns, strikes or layoffs) than were long-term residents. However, the respondents were being questioned about their employment situation over the past two years. Therefore, the recent migrants were including within their unemployed time the time they spent searching for their first job in Cleveland while, of course, the long-term residents were not including this within their unemployed time.

One-quarter of the long-term residents had lost work time involuntarily while between half and three-fifths of the white migrants had lost time due to "disruptions of the job market system." The migrants said that the greatest part of their lost time was because of no work being available to them, and when the migrants were out of work they tended to be out for some time.[1]

According to Peterson and Sharp, 10 per cent of the respondents were not working or looking for work. Six of every ten had worked at some point during their residence in Cleveland. Male migrants indicated that they were waiting to start a new job or hoping to return to an old job as reasons for not seeking work.

Job Appraisals: Three-fifths of the white migrants to Cleveland felt they had obtained a job "as good as they hoped to get" while one-half or more of the black migrants felt they had obtained a job "worse than they had expected."[2]

Pay was the most important reason for satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the first Cleveland job. Working conditions was the next most prominent reason for dissatisfaction with the first job, while the nature and amount of supervision was the next most important reason for satisfaction with the first job.[3]

Consistent with the above findings, Peterson and Sharp discovered within their sample that as the hourly wage rates rose the proportion of migrants who

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1. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," op. cit. p. 147.

2. Ibid., p. 121.

3. Ibid., p. 121.

were satisfied with their first job also rose. There was a significant increase in satisfaction only after the wage levels of $2.00 an hour for women and $3.00 an hour for men.[1]

Income and Level of Living: Excluding the over $14,000 income category, which at the time of the survey included professionals and large property owners, Cleveland migrants and, in particular, suburbanites, had considerably higher income than people from the State of West Virginia as a whole, (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Annual Income for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups (1965)*

Income Category	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
		**				**		
$5,000 or more	53.6	46.4	56.5	87.9	54.7	54.7	60.0	85.3
$4,999 or less	46.4	53.6	43.5	12.1	45.3	45.3	40.0	14.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(241)	(168)	(387)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

* -- Although the Cleveland data were collected in 1968, in order to secure comparability with some of the West Virginia data that were collected in 1966, respondents throughout the survey were asked about their income in the year 1965.

** -- Differences significant at the 1% level

Income differences become more pronounced when the four groups are matched in terms of age and education, so that even in the over $14,000 income category there are proportionately more suburbanites than non-migrants. The $9,000 to

1. Gene Peterson and Laura Sharp, "Southern Migrants To Cleveland," op. cit. p. 121.

$14,000 income category has about three times as many (25 per cent) suburbanites as the other three groups. As Appendix Table 5 shows, in the $5,000 to $9,000 category there are 61, 50, 37 and 34 per cent of suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants respectively; for the less than $5,000 income category the corresponding proportions for these groups are 12, 43, 54 and 46 per cent.

Table 6 shows the weekly wages of the Cleveland migrants for the year 1965, indicating that about three-fourths of the respondents in the ghetto and half of the respondents in the suburbs were earning more than $120 weekly.

TABLE 6

Weekly Wages for Cleveland Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Weekly Wages ($)	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
90 or less	3.4	13.1	3.6	6.6
91 to 120	11.0	35.7	9.8	44.0
121 or more	85.6	51.2	86.6	49.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(387)	(168)	(103)	(75)

These figures contrast with figures of the annual income presented in the previous table which show that suburbanites have the highest annual income. Possible reasons for this discrepancy could be: (1) ghetto residents earn higher wages, but not as many have steady jobs, at least as compared to the suburbanites; (2) more of the ghetto residents are new in Cleveland and, therefore, had not spent the entire year there even in cases where they might

have steady jobs; and (3) many suburbanites who usually work in industries such as the automobile industry often work overtime. Both empirical evidence and informal discussions with Cleveland migrants indicate that both steady jobs and longer stays in Cleveland were associated with the desire to settle in the suburbs and buy a house.

Concerning house buying, at least in the earlier years of the flight to the suburbs, migrants were quite hesitant about going into debt in order to buy a home, even when its cost was less than twice their annual income. It is possible that early life, economic deprivation and lack of security created some fear syndromes. However, such syndromes often were found to be in conflict with tendencies to spend for immediate gratification and with relative lack of interest in saving.

If one considers that by far most migrants in Cleveland come from rural areas with much lower income than that shown in the first and second rows of Appendix Table 5, it becomes apparent that migration has offered some very good opportunities for economic achievement. This, of course, would be examined along with the fact that migrants had to go through considerable difficulties in order to reach the stage they were in during the time of the survey.[1] Furthermore, even today some migrants are forced to remain in the ghetto in order to be able to take city life, and some could not take the city at all and were forced to return to West Virginia. But one should also consider the societal pressures and, in turn, the undesirable psychological conditions these pressures might have brought about in those who had the qualifications,

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1. Some of the early migrants bitterly complained because no one gave them simple instructions as to how they should go about moving to the city and settling there. For suggestions of old migrants to the newcomers see John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. p. 205.

but were not given the opportunity to out-migrate, but had to stay in the hollows of Appalachia. Television and other contacts with the outside world have encouraged them to desire the income and level of living the visible urban lower middle class had, but in West Virginia they would not have the opportunities for achieving these levels. As a consequence, low morale, anomia, or some other form of alienation or deviance might have been the result.

The Returned Migrant: Approximately one-third of the total group of returned migrants from Cleveland spent one year or less outside the Appalachian Region, while another third spent from two to four years outside the Region. The remaining third spent five or more years outside the Region. The latter portion of the returned migrants probably in large part represents those who had remained working outside the region until they had reached retirement age and returned to the region to retire.

The majority of the total group of returned migrants from Cleveland, 62 per cent, worked only once outside the state, while 32.7 per cent worked outside of the state two or three times. The remaining portion of the returned migrants, 5.3 per cent, worked four or more times out of the state. This data reflects the repeated attempts of some to make a successful go of it outside the state and shows that some were satisfied after one attempt. Of course, within this data are also those who were successful and returned to the state after retirement.

Among the total group of returned migrants 15.7 per cent first worked outside of West Virginia between the years of 1960 and 1965, 17.8 per cent between the years 1953 and 1959, 19.1 per cent between the years 1945 and 1952, and 47.4 per cent before the year 1945.

As we have indicated before, by placing strong emphasis on economic achievement and level of living, our society creates strong desires which for most people involve strong emotions. But what is difficult and makes migration crucial and even necessary is that society does not, at least at the present, provide dislocated groups, such as the rural Appalachians, the means to implement these desires in their own region. Thus, many have taken chances and have moved out of their communities, completely unprepared or being unsuitable for city employment.

Others, for one reason or another, have not taken these chances. Among these people, some tend to either retreat from society or find some other way -- such as becoming strongly involved in sectarian churches -- to cope with societal pressures and alleviate their anxieties. Often, however, lack of legitimacy of these new modes of adaptation creates undesirable societal pressures for the deviant. Furthermore, when there is a lack of legitimate opportunities for alleviating anxieties, the consequences are often retreat from society, unhappiness, alienation, and later, more basic personality disorganization and further deviancy. In support of this speculation, data from this same survey indicate higher alienation scores and lower morale among rural West Virginians, in particular those who have failed in the city and have not found a way to alleviate their anxieties, for instance by becoming strongly involved in a sectarian church or in a primary group with norms that support their status. From what we know, this situation was not necessarily true in the past.

Certain returned migrants, rural people without means who have never migrated and have not made the grade, or others who for one reason or another have chosen to join the welfare rolls, tend to interact with each other and

on the basis of this interaction develop their own social system and own norms. For instance, the norm this interaction often produces suggests that collecting welfare is not a bad thing; society owes this to the welfare recipient -- and sometimes the norm even suggests that it is clever to make a living without working. It could be that if employment was available in their own communities where the new pressures and cultural complexity would not be intervening variables, many of these people, including those who are physically handicapped, would not have to resort to these rationalizations. Still, it should be understood that for many, this rationalization or expression of apathy is necessary, because otherwise other, probably more detrimental forms of deviancy might be the substitutes.[1]

Besides income, suburbanites followed by non-migrants, had the highest level of living. Among suburbanites, non-migrants, returned migrants and ghetto, the corresponding proportion of those who had color television were 32, 13, 6 and 12 per cent, and of those who had wall-to-wall carpet, 61, 29, 20 and 22 per cent. But by matching the four groups in terms of age and education, ghetto residents came second in level of living and the rank order of the groups changes to: suburbanites, ghetto residents, returned migrants and non-migrants, (Table 7).[2]

Alienation of Migrants: Although the literature describes rural migrants in the city as alienated, unhappy, withdrawing into sectarian churches and ghetto, our data do not support this proposition. Today there are considerably more West Virginians in the suburbs than in the ghetto. Of course, this

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1. Richard Ball, "The Southern Appalachian Folk Subculture As A Tension Reducing Way of Life" (in John Photiadis and Harry Schwarzweller, "Change In Rural Appalachia"), op. cit. Chapter 4.

2. It might be that younger returned migrants are primarily skilled and make good wages in West Virginia.

TABLE 7

Level of Living Items for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups (1965)*

Level of Living Item	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Automatic Washer Yes	52.6	46.9	32.9	75.1	52.7	48.0	32.0	74.8
No	47.4	53.1	67.1	24.9	47.3	52.0	68.0	25.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Dryer Yes	49.4	35.6	29.3	78.8	47.3	36.0	33.3	80.9
No	50.6	64.4	70.7	21.2	52.7	64.0	66.7	19.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Flush Toilet Yes	84.5	76.2	98.8	98.4	79.4	74.7	98.7	98.8
No	15.5	23.8	1.2	1.6	20.6	25.3	1.3	1.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
W to W Carpet Yes	28.7	19.7	22.2	61.3	15.2	18.7	24.0	62.9
No	71.3	80.3	77.8	38.7	84.8	81.3	76.0	37.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Telephone Yes	81.2	75.3	54.5	94.8	77.0	61.3	58.7	92.0
No	18.8	24.7	45.5	5.2	23.0	38.7	41.3	8.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)
Bath and Shower Yes	80.9	75.3	99.4	97.9	77.0	74.7	98.7	95.1
No	19.1	24.7	.6	2.1	23.0	25.3	1.3	4.9
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(884)	(239)	(168)	(384)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)

* -- Although the Cleveland data were collected in 1968, in order to secure comparability with some of the West Virginia data that were collected in 1966, respondents throughout the survey were asked about their level of living in the year 1965.

was not the case fifteen or twenty years ago. The same might also have been true in the past of alienation, but in the year 1967 there was less alienation -- measured in terms of bewilderment and confusion -- among respondents of the Cleveland sample as compared to the West Virginia sample (Table 8).

TABLE 8

Bewilderment and Confusion for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Degree of Agreement	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
High (35-42)	30.5	31.8	16.0	19.6	34.0	25.7	22.2	16.3
Medium (23-34)	37.4	42.2	57.8	45.4	48.7	50.0	50.0	48.0
Low (6-22)	32.1	26.0	26.2	35.0	24.3	25.6	27.8	35.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(444)	(230)	(149)	(388)	(156)	(74)	(72)	(165)

** -- Differences significant at the 5% level

Differences, although reduced, remain present when age and education are controlled (right side of Table 8).[1] The fact that West Virginians came to Cleveland in later years, when the employment situation was relatively settled, might have contributed to the reduced alienation.

1. For more information see John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. pp. 207-215.

To an extent, the same is true with tendencies toward joining sectarian churches because, at least in the suburbs, there are fewer members of sectarian churches than in the other three groups. When age and education are controlled, ghetto residents and returned migrants have the highest proportion of members of sectarian churches; non-migrants come second and suburbanites last.[1]

As compared to suburbanites, ghetto residents are much stronger believers but participate in church much less frequently.[2]

Ways of Life Preferences and Attitudes: Nine different ways of life preferences which could imply value orientations have been used for comparison of the four groups. The profiles of the ranking of these nine preferences indicate similar overall patterns, although there were some distinct differences among the four groups. In all four groups religious and family orientation were the two styles of life checked most often as primary preferences, and, although religion ranked first for the two West Virginia groups, for the two Cleveland groups family ranked first and religion second. Education ranks third for all groups except suburbanites, who place work in third place.[3] When age and education are controlled, differences among the four groups in terms of preference of life in line with work are shown in Table 9, where life where work is a desirable part is shown to be much more important for suburbanites who, more than ghetto residents, usually have skilled jobs that are more interesting than the mining work they did before.

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1. John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. pp. 144-148.

2. Ibid., pp. 151-154.

3. Ibid., pp. 125-143.

TABLE 9

Preference of a Life Style Where Work Is Important for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Degree of Preference	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
							*	
High (Sc. 22-27)	25.0	18.4	10.8	21.0	13.3	12.5	6.1	22.2
Med. (Sc. 12-21)	45.3	46.0	70.1	60.2	64.7	72.2	71.2	61.7
Low (Sc. 3-11)	29.7	35.6	19.1	18.8	22.0	15.3	22.7	16.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(238)	(165)	(383)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(166)

* -- Differences significant at the 1% level

As Table 10 shows, although suburbanites value work more highly, their attitudes toward achievement, progress and education are less favorable than in the other three groups.[1]

Finally, the proportions of those who indicated high satisfaction with their work were about the same for all four groups, 79, 71, 78 and 78 respectively for non-migrants, returned migrants, ghetto and suburbs. These percentages are similar to those of the 1969 Gallup Poll, where the same question about one's job was asked.[2]

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1. John Photiadis, "West Virginians In Their Own State and In Cleveland, Ohio," op. cit. pp. 115-119.

2. As reported in the May 11, 1969 edition of the New York Times.

TABLE 10

Proportion of Respondents With High Scores in Attitudes Toward Achievement Progress and Education for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Attitudes Toward	Total Groups (%)				Matched Groups (%)			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Achievement	33.0	37.0	32.0	23.0	34.0	42.0	35.0	23.0
	**		*	**	*		*	**
Progress	39.0	29.2	33.1	21.3	26.6	28.2	35.2	16.2
	**		**	*	*		**	*
Education	56.8	59.0	55.7	41.5	52.5	58.3	56.9	31.9
	**		**	**	**		**	**

* -- Differences significant at the 5% level

** -- Differences significant at the 1% level

APPENDIX TABLE 1

Years of Technical Training for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Years	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
None	93.5	91.2	94.0	91.2	92.2	86.4	90.4	91.0
One or less	2.3	4.2	2.4	3.1	2.4	6.8	2.7	3.0
Two	2.3	3.4	2.4	2.1	3.0	5.4	4.1	3.0
Three or more	1.9	1.2	1.2	3.6	2.4	1.4	2.8	3.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(235)	(167)	(390)	(166)	(74)	(74)	(166)

APPENDIX TABLE 2

Occupational Distributions for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Type of Occupation	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Unskilled	18.9	29.8	19.0	20.7	37.7	40.9	18.8	17.7
Semi-skilled	12.8	24.4	62.7	30.6	24.3	28.8	60.9	34.8
Skilled	8.2	12.5	11.1	32.2	11.5	7.6	13.0	35.4
White Collar	8.0	7.1	3.3	5.2	8.8	7.6	1.5	4.4
Managerial	4.9	4.8	2.5	5.9	5.4	4.5	4.3	5.7
Businessmen	3.8	2.4	0.0	0.8	3.4	6.1	0.0	1.3
Farmers	6.7	7.1	0.0	0.0	5.5	3.0	0.0	0.0
Professionals	11.5	10.7	0.7	4.3	0.7	1.5	1.5	0.7
Other	25.2	1.2	0.7	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(899)	(168)	(153)	(376)	(148)	(66)	(69)	(158)

APPENDIX TABLE 3

Total Length of Time Lived in Cleveland for Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Length of Time	Total Groups		Matched Groups	
	Ghetto	Suburbs	Ghetto	Suburbs
3 months or less	3.6	0.3	2.7	0.6
6 months or less	5.2	0.5	4.1	0.6
6 mo. to 1 year	15.0	1.3	12.2	1.2
1 to 2 years	7.8	4.4	6.8	4.8
2 to 3 years	9.0	4.8	6.8	6.0
3 to 5 years	9.0	9.3	12.2	6.0
6 to 10 years	24.0	20.4	18.9	19.9
11 to 15 years	18.0	43.2	21.4	51.3
More than 15 years	8.4	15.8	14.9	9.6
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(167)	(387)	(74)	(166)

APPENDIX TABLE 4

Employed and Unemployed for Non-Migrant, Returned Migrants, Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Employed Or Not	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
Yes	74.8	73.2	91.0	97.9	91.6	91.9	91.8	97.5
No	25.2	26.8	9.0	2.1	8.4	8.1	8.2	2.5
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(896)	(235)	(166)	(381)	(166)	(74)	(73)	(162)

APPENDIX TABLE 5

Annual Income for Non-Migrants, Returned Migrants,

Ghetto and Suburbs for Total and Matched Groups

Income Category	Total Groups				Matched Groups			
	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs	Non-Migrant	Returned Migrant	Ghetto	Suburbs
$14,000 +	5.5	1.6	0.0	1.5	1.2	1.3	0.0	2.5
$9,000-$13,999	14.1	7.9	6.5	25.1	7.2	6.7	6.7	25.2
$7,000-8,999	10.3	11.2	13.5	28.2	10.2	10.7	24.0	23.9
$5,000-6,999	23.7	25.7	31.5	33.1	36.1	36.0	29.3	33.7
$3,000-4,999	18.8	19.1	16.7	9.1	25.4	21.3	24.0	11.0
$2,000-2,999	10.1	8.3	10.7	0.5	9.1	5.3	8.0	0.6
$1,000-1,999	6.3	10.4	5.4	0.2	3.6	8.0	1.3	0.6
Less than $1,000	11.2	15.8	10.7	2.3	7.2	10.7	6.7	2.5
$5,000 or more	53.6	46.4	56.5	87.9	54.7	54.7	60.0	85.3
$4,999 or less	46.4	53.6	43.5	12.1	45.3	45.3	40.0	14.7
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Cases	(890)	(241)	(168)	(387)	(166)	(75)	(75)	(163)